

Heresy in Scotland : the second phase, 1546-58

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The original intention of the present essay was to examine all new adherents of the Reformed cause in the period after George Wishart till 1558 and the death of the English queen, Mary Tudor. This proved unmanageable, partly because of the need to complete the imperfect record of dissidents prior to Wishart, partly for reasons of space and partly because the English and Scottish evidence raised problems calling for separate treatment. Yet the history of the Scottish Reformation must really get down to assembling as many case histories as possible before drawing premature conclusions. The task is complicated by the absence of reliable biographies, and only a selection of important names can be touched on here. Of converts some are of uncertain allegiance, especially in the days of Mary of Lorraine where a degree of "Reform fatigue" had set in. It is astonishing that while work has been done on the Assured Lords of the 1540s, there is available no rigorous study of the Lords of the Congregation or of those laymen involved in English negotiations after the Act of Supremacy or even of seasoned soldiers who took part in the battles of 1559/60. After Wishart there seem to be no clerical recruits of the calibre of Alexander Allan, John Macalpine, George Buchanan, Wishart himself and John Knox. The faith and morals of all adherents are not always admirable; moreover, exiles from justice can be confused with religious refugees. The place of exile may indicate the doctrinal orientation of the subject. Not all recruits by any means are of the younger breed necessarily, and with refugees forced abroad and moving about from place to place there were wife problems. Few were able to help on the cause at home, though some were valued abroad for their theological teaching. The celibacy rule in Catholic circles was when broken often disregarded, but when

doctrinal reasons were given for breaking it, this could become a matter of heresy. If, prior to Wishart, few leading heretics were laymen or at least laymen of mark, after him the situation is reversed.¹

Before proceeding to deal more precisely with the Reformation movement from 1546, it is worth having a new look at its origins. One significant name that recurs in the early days is that of James Melville, an Observant friar who was perhaps the son of John Melville of Raith by his first wife. As guardian of the Elgin Franciscans, this dissident had appealed from the bishop of Moray to more friendly territory, in Fife, the official's court in St Andrews. The official duly summoned the Observant provincial, Andrew Cairns, but he, on his own behalf and that of his fellow Observants, ruled that the citation was invalid, as it derogated from the concord between Observants and Conventuals, ratified by the Scots church authorities, including James Simson, the official concerned. This nullified Simson's mediation in the eyes of Cairns who also alleged that there was a sizeable erasure in the papal letters submitted by Melville to support his case for transfer to the less rigorous Conventual branch of his order. In Rome, Pope Clement VII, unaware of the hornet's nest Melville had stirred up, would be called upon to step in. Meantime Melville affixed his appeal to the church doors in St Andrews and, not without lay support locally, set out for Rome which he reached in December 1546, apparently by way of England. The pope granted him ample powers not only to join the Conventuals, but to linger in the schools outside Franciscan houses and even to aspire to become a suffragan bishop. Some of Clement's brieves were detained by Cardinal Wolsey on Melville's return. One, however, concerning his transfer to the Conventuals, Melville, aided by a fellow friar, posted on the kirk

¹ J.Durkan, "Scottish Evangelicals in the patronage of Thomas Cromwell", *RSCHS*, xxi, 1982, 127-56, at 131, 147; Ibid., "Some local heretics", *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, 1959, 67-77; M.H.B.Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton c.1494-1546*, (Edinburgh 1986), 270-84.

doors of St Nicholas, Aberdeen, whence it vanished, as a draft deed in the burgh records puts it, "whether by wind or rain or human agency is uncertain". When friendly townsmen conducted Melville to the Greyfriars house, a posse of six to eight brothers confronted him, one friar reading out an inhibition from the king while others took him into custody. Meantime, Pope Clement, advised by Wolsey's agents of the facts, cancelled the brieves and confirmed the sentence of Cairns and the king for the friar's confinement and eventual exile. This time, however, when Melville left, his destination would be Wittenberg and Martin Luther. In August 1527, King James was still corresponding with England to force Wolsey to disgorge the brieves.

This Lutheran experiment cannot have lasted long, for two years at the most, when he made his way to Catholic Italy, publishing in Bologna his *Contest with the Lutherans* briefly refuting Lutheran errors and highlighting among their leaders doctrinal inconsistencies. This was in 1530. By 1534 he was again in the pope's good graces, for on 1 February another brieve addressed him as rector of the church of Santa Caterina near the Castel Sant'Angelo next the Vatican, granting him wide powers in Scotland of dispensation and even of creating doctors of theology. In Scotland by August, a board of influential clerics brought it to the attention of king and council that Melville had been "apprehendit in secular habite as ane man of weir" and should revert to Franciscan safe-keeping while a papal decision was awaited.

By September James was complaining to Clement VII of his Lutheran preaching, promising to return him to the Observants. In the following March he reiterated his complaints to the pope's successor, Paul III, adding significantly that the friar's friends might try to move the pope to restore him to freedom, but by April 1536, when the king wrote again, Melville had escaped from custody. Astonishingly Rome ignored all pleas and reinstated him in Santa Caterina where he was well placed for influential contacts. He set about establishing a postal address in France with his kinsman, Walter Melville, one of the French

king's guards, who would absent himself from duty in time to be present at Cardinal Beaton's murder. In France the former friar called on Sir William Paget, Henry VIII's ambassador, offering his services as an informer. Snippets about Cardinal Pole's doings, concerning Melville's other two cardinal patrons and other Roman curial gossip were too trivial for Paget's purposes.

Finally, in November 1543, Melville approached in Venice the English agent there, Edmund Harvel, from whom at last he won a testimonial letter to Henry VIII certifying his opposition to "the Bishop's part", that is to the papacy, and requesting a face to face audience with the English king to release information of some consequence. What happened to him in England thereafter the records do not tell. Did the young friar learn his dissident views from a senior friar? The present writer would suggest that John Johnson, "humble professor of divinitie", seems to indicate his friar's origin by placing "humble" before his degree. This would call for his identification with the Observant guardian of the Glasgow Franciscans in 1512-3. If this identification is correct, the Franciscan Observants might be more evident in the first phases of the Scottish Reformation than is commonly believed. If so, the incidence of Friar Melville was more significant than previously recognised.²

² See in general, J.Kirk, "The Religion of Early Scottish Protestants", *Humanism and Reform: Essays in Honour of James K.Cameron. Studies in Church History, Subsidia* (Oxford, 1991), 361-412. For Melville: *St Andrews Formulare*, ed. G. Donaldson and C.Macrae (Stair Society, 1941), i, 212; Glasgow University Ross Fund, Vatican Archives Transcripts, Registrum Supplicationum vol. 1914, fos. 207v-208v; vol. 920, fo. 66v; J.Durkan, "Early Humanism at King's College", *Aberdeen University Review*, xlvi (1980), 265-6, 276; National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS 9A.1.6, fos. 226-8; W.Forbes-Leith, *The Scots Men at Arms and Life-Guards in France* (Edinburgh, 1882), ii, 128-142 (1535 to 1545); *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Foreign and Domestic*, edd. Brewer and Gairdner (London, 1862-1910), xviii (2), 330. For Johnson: J.K.Cameron, "John Johnsone's *An Comfortable Exhortation*: an early example of Lutheran piety", *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent. Studies in Church History: Subsidia II*, ed.D.Baker (Oxford, 1979); *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, edd. J.Bain and C.Rogers (Grampian Club, 1875), ii, 432, 436, 486.

We have only crumbs of information about these German religious exiles, though Germany rather than Switzerland was to be their favourite place of retreat. After Wishart's death in 1546, Knox himself indicates that he "was determined to have left Scotland and to have vesitid the schooles of Germany", the England of Henry VIII being in that year unappealing. The first identifiable Scot in Reformed Germany was Nicholas Borthwick ("Botwynni"), again a significant name, enrolled in Wittenberg in 1524. In May 1529 Luther forwarded a testimonial to Nuremberg on behalf of a Scot born, as he says, in an honourable situation, who, if only he had the German language, would prove helpful to the cause. This has been taken to refer to a lay candidate who scarcely fits the bill. Magnus Pierson is the first named Scots merchant involved in the new movement and unlike Friar Melville, with his shifting loyalties, he remained as a Wittenberg councillor for over thirty years. In spite of his Orcadian-sounding name, Pierson had come there from Edinburgh in 1528, his epitaph praising him as a "just trader", one "who had left Scotland's shores out of his love of religion" at that date. But the testimonial referred to added that he was a person knowledgeable in scholastic theology, a more apt description of the "apostate" Friar Melville than of an Edinburgh merchant.³

It is tempting to wonder if this is not the same person who in November 1540 gave Machabaeus (Macalpine) money and for whom Melanchthon sought a post in Germany, for he is said to be a Scot called James coming from Rome. Another letter, dated in August 1543, but more probably datable in May when Melanchthon made another visit to Bonn, referred to the receipt of a letter from Scotland which he was anxious Alesius (Allan) should read, probably since it contained news of Governor Arran's evangelical experiment in the spring of that year. In Bonn Melanchthon had also come across a Scot, an envoy to France, who spoke respectfully of Lutheranism, calling forth the

³ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 132; M. Luther, *Werke* (Weimar, 1883); *Briefwechsel* (Weimar, 1934), v, 74-5.

comment , "I should not be surprised if Alesius like Daedalus made wings for himself so that he could at once fly back home".⁴

James Balfour and William Ramsay were students from St Andrews where they stayed in St Salvator's from 1540-43. While there, the theology faculty became nervous about the orthodoxy of one of the St Leonard's lecturers, David Guild. The theologian, John Mair, and others, including the Englishman, Richard Hilliard, were summoned to investigate, but as it was not long since the flight southwards of Alexander Seton, no Dominican friars were part of this tribunal. The transcript of proceedings is faulty, but, even so, Guild's vocabulary in speaking of the Trinity had an unusual ring to it. Yet finally the faculty exonerated him of any unorthodox intention. What, however, Herkless and Hannay have failed to notice is the context of this disputation and of the subsequent enquiry, namely, the recent denial of the Trinity by Michael Servetus. Not long after Balfour and Ramsay had settled in Wittenberg, a disputation there also turned to the Trinity, one aimed, as its editor confirms, at anti-Trinitarians including Servetus. Ramsay at least was present for he contributed with his personal interventions. Balfour, however, would soon return home, and, though soon incarcerated with Beaton's murderers, reverted before long to the eucharistic views of his uncle, Martin Balfour, presiding dean of theology at the Guild enquiry. Ramsay himself shortly left for Paris and subsequently for Bordeaux before returning home and in 1563 was proposed by George Buchanan as head of his projected divinity school in St Andrews, a project destined to remain a paper one.

There is a certain Scot called James whom Melanchthon dispatched to Alesius in Leipzig to bring him news from home and to hear him dispute. One editor dates Melanchthon's letter in March 1542 and the other at the latest settles for April 1544. The latter's proposed identification with Balfour has problems:

⁴ CR, iv, 172-4; O.Waltz, "Epistolae Reformatiae III", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, iv (1881), 290; *Melanchthons Briefwechsel*, ed. Heinz Scheible (Stuttgart, 1979), iii, 106; CR, iv, 793; v, 110.

he had not left Scotland quite so early, not enrolling in Wittenberg till September. Macalpine had expatiated on the virtues of this James, for which cause Alesius was expected to welcome him as a friend. If a date later in the year 1544 can be permitted, the reference might be to Balfour, for in August both he and Ramsay passed through Copenhagen en route for Wittenberg, "two fine youths" as Macalpine wrote to Paul Eber, "born of good family and adorned with gentle manners and great piety". Not quite the contemporary picture of Balfour of Pittendreich in subsequent times.⁵

Another Lutheran university was Greifswald. There we have a problem with the name of Alexander Dume, who professed theology there, as this is not a surname found in Scotland. Dume, an older man and Arts graduate, arrived from Edinburgh in 1545, banished from his homeland for religion. It was Melanchthon who favoured his appointment, for he wrote to Leipzig in September 1546. "We have sent a theologian, one endowed with a placid nature, and, as I hear, for his modesty pleasing to the university". From Greifswald he went to Stralsund as pastor of Sankt Jakob church, in that capacity causing some stir by arguing that Sabbath weddings were not really contrary to the word of God. Dume died in 1554.⁶ A bird of passage was Richard Melville who, along with David Padie, a fellow Scot, matriculated at Greifswald in 1546. He came from Baldovie in Angus and was, sometime after 1543, appointed tutor to James Erskine, younger, of Dun, whom he accompanied to Copenhagen where he is said to have studied under Macalpine and under Melanchthon at Wittenberg. He is not recorded at

⁵ J. Anderson, *Early Records of the University of St Andrews* (Scottish History Society, 1926), 147, 245; J. Herkless and R.K. Hannay, *The College of St Leonard* (Edinburgh, 1905), 220; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, ed. C.E. Foerstermann (Leipzig, 1841), i, 216; Luther, *Werke*, xxxix, 284-336, esp. 286, 302; J. Durkan, "Education: the laying of fresh foundations", *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), 155; *Melanchthons Briefwechsel*, iii, 106; H. Ilsoe, "Christian og Johannes Machabeus", *Kirke Historiske Samlinger* (Copenhagen, 1963-5), 7 rk. v.

⁶ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, v, 459.

either place.⁷ A certain Alexander "Synape", of St Andrews diocese, may have imbibed some new doctrine in Paris where he matriculated in October 1537. He finished his Arts degree at Cologne in June 1543 and it was from there he proceeded to Lutheran Greifswald in the winter of 1545, enrolling there as a *hospes*, that is, attending lectures without any further academic obligations. Thenceforward Snape vanishes in the mists, though Greifswald found him "good and learned".⁸

Alexander Allan or Alesius will be passed over here, but John Fidelis was also an important recruit and demands attention. Often identified with John Fife, this is an error first propagated by Knox who is also mistaken in crediting him with a chair in Leipzig and even with returning home. His name was Fethy and he was already in middle age when he left Scotland for Wittenberg in 1544, having been born in 1490. He is found as schoolmaster in Dundee in 1522, and indeed accompanied another Dundee schoolmaster, Walter Spalatinus or Spalding, of whom more later. Fidelis is a Latinisation due to Melanchthon, for he enrolled as "Faithus". Fethy began his German career as theology teacher at Liegnitz in Silesia (modern Legnica in Poland) and there he married in October 1545. Melanchthon's services as universal job-finder were called on once more. He wrote to Joachim II, Elector of Brandenburg, in March 1547, pointing out that, unlike Allan, Fethy was a man of peace, and since his post at Legnica was now coming to an end, he wished for a professorship at Frankfurt on Oder. Joachim was asked to ensure that Fethy had the means to maintain himself, and in the summer term of that year he took over the chair. A visit to Alesius at Leipzig around 18 October 1550 coincided with one by Melanchthon, and Valentine Paceus wrote to Calvin that Fethy seemed appreciative of that Reformer. He was university rector in 1551 and lived at Frankfurt on Oder till his death there

⁷ *Aeltere Universitäts Matrikeln: Universität Greifswald*, ed. E. Friedlander (Leipzig, 1893 and 1964), i, 214.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 211; *Scottish Historical Review*, xlvi, 8; *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, ed. H. Keussen (Cologne, 1832), 1928, ii, 972.

in 1562. It looks as though Fethy was already well qualified in divinity before fleeing Scotland.⁹

At Wittenberg on 28 August 1545 a testimonial was offered by Luther, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen to a certain Scot, William "Albrecht". He is described as an old man banished from home for teaching that honour was due to God alone. Although in their view there were many such refugees whose faith and morals were dubious, this man's old age made him a deserving case. This Scot was undoubtedly the elder sir William Gilbert, summoned in August 1534 before the Lords of Council for joining with others to free his kinsman, sir George Gilbert, delated for heresy, consigned by royal authority to the custody of the bishop of Brechin for marrying a wife in Regensburg in Germany. He is found as chaplain of St Ninian's altar in Brechin in 1541. There was also a sir William Gilbert, younger, involved in the conspiracy with his senior, who was still active in Brechin in 1556.¹⁰

John MacBrair former Cistercian monk, graduate of St Andrews (though his final degree is not recorded) in the disturbed days of Patrick Hamilton and Alexander Allan, took refuge among the Lollards of Kyle before his flight to England. The rise of Mary Tudor forced on him a second exile, initially in Belgium, according to John Johnston, latterly at Frankfurt on Main where he ministered among English religious refugees in 1555. John Bale narrates of him that "after he had laboured in that office for a year, he took on the pastoral rule of a church in Lower Germany in which function his is now (i.e. 1558) totally involved". The accession of Queen Elizabeth brought the English exiles home and with them MacBrair, once again vicar of

⁹ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 137-9, 150-1; J.Knox, *History of the Reformation*, ed. W.C.Dickinson (Edinburgh, 1949), i, 23 (under "Fyfe"); A.Maxwell, *Old Dundee* (1891 edn.), 152; *Album*, i, 213; *Aeltere Universitäts Matrikeln: Universität Frankfurt am Oder* (Leipzig, 1887), 99, 116, 135, 153; Scheible, no.4662; CR, vi, 448; viii, 815; xli, 650.

¹⁰ Luther, *Briefwechsel*, xi, 169; *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, ed. R.K.Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932), 426-7, 437; *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1850), i, 223-4.

Shoreditch and appointed to preach in London at Paul's Cross in September 1559. But his future lay neither in London diocese under Grindal or in Scotland with Knox, but in north England where he died as vicar of Newcastle. His various travels, according to Nicol Burne, led to his marrying five wives, only one of which, a certain Ellen, is today traceable.¹¹

Under a 1538 rubric, Knox related how "John Lyn, a Grey Friar, left his hypocritical habit and the den of those murderers, the Grey Friars". This is the John "Lyn", poor student who matriculated at Cologne in 1515. However, Knox's date of departure raises questions, there is no evidence of Lyne abroad till 1555 when he enrolled at Wittenberg whence in the following year Melanchthon sent him to Fethy at Frankfurt on Oder, but with the odd assertion about an ex-Franciscan that he had left behind him "no little wealth". This would be explicable, however, if Lyne was beneficed in England meantime and it would clarify Knox's dating of his flight. Melanchthon added that he had experienced Lyne's learning and piety and become attached to him. On 19 July 1557 Bullinger wrote from Zurich to Calvin in Geneva commending "this good man, John Line, the Scot". Lyne had passed on news of Melanchthon to Bullinger, whose enthusiasm for a pan-Protestant colloquy with the Catholics under the auspices of the Emperor Ferdinand I Bullinger did not share. In the event his premonitions were justified, as Zwinglians got short shrift at the Colloquy of Worms. There were Scots residents in Worms: one, Andrew Gibson, is on record visiting Dundee in October 1552.¹² Lyne

¹¹ Durkan, "Some local heretics", 73-7; *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* (New Spalding Club, 1910), iii, 120; J.Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum Maioris Brytanniae, posterior pars* (Basle, 1559), 229; H.Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564* (Oxford, 1898), 106; *Satirical Poems of the Reformation*, ed. J.Cranstoun (Scottish Text Society, 1891), i, 338; *The Registers of St Peter, Cornhill* (Harleian Society, 1877), 222.

¹² Dundee Burgh Archives, Record of Burgh and Head Courts 1550-54, unfoliated.

was absent from Scotland's religious revolution of 1559-60, understandably if he was an old man in his sixties.¹³

Of other Scots in Germany, William "Scroder", at Greifswald in 1542 still awaits identification.¹⁴ Andrew Lowson was at Frankfurt on Oder in 1549. He has to be the same as the Scot, Andrew "Guilmus", driven out of Orkney by its bishop, Robert Reid, on account of his evangelical preaching, according to Melanchthon's testimonial on 29 March 1551 which followed on a covering letter from John Fethy. He was returning to England, by which route he may have come to Germany.¹⁵ John "Scotus" at Wittenberg in 1539 is generally said to be John Wedderburn of Dundee, a student, it is believed, under the Reform-minded Gavin Logie at St Leonard's College, though that must be considered dubious as he was in fact in the Pedagogy. John became a priest, but turning Reformer, being escheated for heresy, left for Germany in 1539 where, we are told, he first heard Luther and Melanchthon. This was before his return home after the death of James V in 1542. However, having come to Cardinal Beaton's notice, he felt obliged to flee to England in 1546, and, as John Johnston claims, though Johnston's dates have been questioned, he died there in 1556 when England was under a Catholic queen. Wedderburn's brother, Robert, a genuine St Leonard's student, graduated there in 1531. Having become a chaplain in 1528, he resigned in 1532, by which date he was already vicar of Dundee. Thus it was as a "beneficed master" that he went to Paris to matriculate in 1538, not therefore at the earlier dates commonly suggested. In Paris he "remained cheiflie in companie of these that were instructed in religioun", such as Alexander Hay, subsequently clerk to the Court of Session, and James Sandilands of Calder, later preceptor of the Knights of St John at Torphichen, "whose

¹³ Dickinson's *Knox*, i, 26; *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1960), 320; *CR*, viii, 816; xliv, 542.

¹⁴ *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, ed. A. Hofmeister (1891), ii, 103.

¹⁵ *Matrikel: Frankfurt am Oder*, i, 112; Scheible (with W. Thuringer), vi, 144.

familie", writes Calderwood, "were most zealous in advancing of religion".

It has been proposed by A.F. Mitchell that when afterwards Robert toured eastern Europe, he visited Frankfurt on Oder, but not only is Wedderburn not enrolled there, but it did not have John Fethy as its professor till after Wedderburn's homecoming. However, since Wedderburn was probably under Fethy as his schoolmaster in Dundee, he may well have contacted him as theological teacher at Legnice in what is now Polish Silesia. In 1547, Robert was appointed to Sandilands' service as chamberlain of Torphichen, and remained an absentee vicar with a mistress, Isobel Lovell, by whom he had two sons, David and Robert, legitimated in January 1553, some months before their father's death in the autumn of that year. His son Robert "Oultreborne" is found as archer among the young earl of Arran's French company in July 1557. Three Wedderburn brothers were responsible for *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, translations from Lutheran and other sources aimed at the popular religious market. Robert himself, as author of *The Complaynt of Scotland*, seems comfortable living under Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Regent. His orthodox Catholic burial took place, not in Dundee, but in Edinburgh at St Giles.¹⁶

John Willock remained important in the 1550's but is the product of earlier times. With him at Emden was David Simpson. In 1503 he was a friar student attached to the local Dominican priory at Aberdeen. To go abroad was part of a friar's mobility. We have the satirical picture of Benedict of Scotland, friar at Stralsund, previously at Cologne, in the *Letters of Obscure Men*. There is also the Friar James Duncanson of Stirling priory found later in Stamford and in Boston,

¹⁶ Short biographies in R. Wedderburn, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. A.M. Stewart (Scottish Text Society, 1979), pp. xi-xvi; SHR, xlivi, 82; Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1842-9), i, 141-3; Forbes-Leith, *Scots Guards*, i, 191; *Edinburgh Records: The Burgh Accounts* vol. ii: *Dean of Guild's Accounts 1552-1567*, ed. R. Adam (Edinburgh, 1899), 6-8.

Lincolnshire. David Simpson's transfer to England is unrecorded, but he is not among English Dominican ordinands, though his name is among members of the Newcastle priory who surrendered their place to Henry VIII in 1539. Thereafter he disappeared from view, apparently into a secular occupation, till naturalised as an Englishman in March 1552. On the accession of Mary Tudor, a group of exiles, but with an English and Scots component, set sail from England in September 1553 looking for refuge in Denmark. In 1554 one vessel made for Hamburg where the refugees debated the nature of the eucharist with the Lutheran, Joachim Westphal. Dissatisfied with Martin Micron's replies, Westphal appealed to the elderly Simpson who made clear his concurrence with Micron as Laski's deputy and his approval of the practice current in England under Edward VI, that is, of following the Second Prayer Book.

In the preceding year, at Copenhagen, Simpson and an elder from Laski's London church were interrogated by the Danish church leader, Petrus Palladius, in controverted questions such as the sacraments, the whereabouts and governance of the true Church along with the abolition of the papacy. Machabaeus (John Macalpine), who may have known Simpson as a fellow friar, was inclined to give refuge to the wanderers, but King Christian III set his face against this. Works of Cranmer and Bale published in 1557 both list Simpson as a Protestant exile, still alive, apparently in Emden. The account of the Westphal debate adds a biographical fragment. Westphal enquired how it was that a tailor could be so positive about his personal theology. With such views, it would have been better for Simpson to have kept to his tailor's shop instead of becoming a minister in England. Why did Simpson, a mere skinner, change vocation since each person was bound to follow his own vocation? Micron cut off such jests made at his colleague's expense. To his mind it was no disgrace for one who has abandoned the popish priesthood if he took up manual work, for which there was anyway a precedent in St Paul. Simpson was

perhaps in his seventies by 1560 and hardly likely to return home.¹⁷

John Macalpine, or Machabaeus as Melanchthon styled him, has been dealt with elsewhere 151-2 but a few additional details may be welcome. He was Dominican prior of Perth, and had become bachelor of divinity at Cologne while still a friar, not afterwards as is commonly inferred. He fled to England and thence abroad with a young Scots wife, Agnes Matheson whose sister married the English Reformer, Miles Coverdale. In 1542 he was called to a vacant chair in theology at Copenhagen prefaced by a short stay at Wittenberg which he entered in November 1540. In Denmark he became a close adviser to Christian III on religious questions. As such he was involved in the preparation and distribution of the Danish bible. His wife survived him by over thirty years. The family was related to the Stratouns of the Mearns, themselves early Lutherans. His *Commentary on Deuteronomy* (London, 1563) was issued as the first fruits of his father's reforming zeal by his son, Christian Alpinus. Since it cites Calvin's *Institutes*, it must post-date 1536. Its object is to reassert the authority of the Church and of God's law, but without relinquishing the assault on monasticism, human traditions and papist "ceremonies". The son dedicated the book to Edmund Grindal who had recommended Christian to the bishop of Ely and he in turn to John Perne, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. A poetic epitaph was offered by Melanchthon when

¹⁷ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 142-3, 153-5; U. von Hutten, *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (London, 1910), 230-3; A.B. Emden, *A Survey of Dominicans in England, 1268-1538* (Rome, 1967), 328; *Fasti Aberdonenses* (Spalding Club, 1854), 45; *8th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. III, 32; *Calendar of Patent Rolls of Edward VI*, iv, 280; Emden edition of Cranmer's defence of 1557 in T. Cranmer, *Works* (Parker Society, 1844), i, 9 bis; Bale, *Scriptorum...Catalogus* (Basle, 1557), 742; N. Pocock, "The Condition of Morals and Religious Belief in the Reign of Edward VI", *English Historical Review*, x, 435; F.A. Norwood, *Strangers and exiles: a history of religious refugees* (New York, 1968), 272; J. Uttenhove, *Simplex et fidelis narratio de instituta ac demum dissipata Belgicarum ecclesia* (Basle, 1560), 22, 101, 119, 202, 211-12, 233.

Macalpine died on the eve of St Nicholas (5 December) in 1557. The son's opinion of his father was high. For him he was on a par with men of the calibre of Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, Bucer and Calvin. He was certainly one of the most notable Scottish exiles.¹⁸

William Christison, born in Fife according to John Johnston, is said to have been the son of John Johnston, is said to have been the son of John Christison, burgess of Edinburgh. Christison, if he is the William "Skotte" at Copenhagen University in 1556/7 may have studied under Macalpine, though this is less than certain. A student in St Leonard's College in 1514, the date of his subsequent departure abroad can be fixed by the arrival in Rostock of "Gulielmus Ioannes", a Scot, in October 1545. "Ioannes" here is for "Ioannis", that is "William, son of John" or Johnson. Burne accused him of ravishing "a lass in Berne" (Bergen), and indeed he did proceed to Norway where the bishop of Bergen, Geble Pedersen (1537-57) employed him, and from Bergen he was recalled to Scotland. He can be identified firmly with the Willem Hansen who served in Bergen cathedral as a teacher, presumably of doctrine. A copy of Luther's *Commentary on the First Book of Moses*, which he gave to his old college of St Leonard, carries the date 1555 on the cover and inside the inscription, "William, son of John, Cristisoun by name, Scot by nationality, minister in Bergen of God's Word". His brother, Michael, was in the privy kirk in Edinburgh about the same date, and he himself was minister at Dundee along with his colleague, Paul Methven. In Bergen Christison possibly ministered to a small Scots colony as in 1557 with Laurence Duguid at Elsinore.¹⁹

¹⁸ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 139-40, 151-2; T.Riis, *Should auld acquaintance be forgot?* (Odense, 1988), ii, 197; J.Machabeus, *Enarratio in Deuteronomium* (London, 1563); Sanderson, *Cardinal*, 282.

¹⁹ *Musa Latina*, iii, 128; *Early Records*, 210; *Satirical Poems*, i, 338; T.L.Christensen, "Scots in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century", *SHR*, xlvi (1970), 139; *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, ii, 109; M.Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), 277; *Protocol Book of Gilbert Grote*, ed. W. Angus (Scottish Record Society, 1914), no. 135; J.

Captain John Borthwick was active in Scotland, France and elsewhere, though his mission to Denmark seems the most significant aspect of his career in religious terms. Indeed his sense of mission can be underrated because his interests seem primarily political, to transfer as much church wealth as possible to lay hands. Yet we have the words that Noailles, the French ambassador in England, used of him in 1559, "a good gentleman, all geven of talking of the Scriptures". In 1540 he had to flee the country and the cardinal in particular, at a time when he owned a book named *Unio Dissidentium*, for uniting dissidents around certain selected biblical texts and others from the Church Fathers. The humanists had recommended renewed concord on the faith of the "primitive kirk", an elastic concept whose terminal dates they did not determine. This handbook by Herman Bodius was directed to "all lovers of unity and peace", an attempt to iron out differences in the Reformation dispute, but most citations were from the fourth and fifth centuries and scarcely primitive. The Eastern Fathers proved less permanently useful for the purpose than the Western. Of the former twenty two sources were spurious, one work attributed to Athanasius being a late medieval compilation on Faith and Works, and another similarly attributed taken from a tract by Theophylact of eleventh century provenance, while twelve assigned to Chrysostom come from pseudo-Chrysostom, notably the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*. However, many proof texts were genuine and of manifest utility when Protestantism was breaking up into separate units that it was vital to reunite. There is in Edinburgh University library a book Borthwick must have owned. It is Justus Jonas, *Liber Jesu Sirach*, published in Wittenberg, whose first owner has copied on to flyleaves two letters of Christian III dated 1552 commending Borthwick to Edward VI.

As an English envoy Borthwick had visited the northern courts of Europe to urge pan-Protestant union, the "union of the

Durkan and R.V.Pringle, "St Andrews additions to Durkan and Ross", *Bibliotheca*, ix (1975), 15.

Christien Kingis" as God's elect instruments for the planting and uniformity of religion not only in Scandinavia, but right across Europe, in Prussia, Pomerania and Saxony, with the proposal to close the Danish Sound to popish vessels. Borthwick is to be met with again under the guise of a John "Tinoterius", who, disturbed once more by disunity, this time among the English exiles, wrote to the Company of Pastors in Geneva from their place of refuge in Frankfurt in September 1555: the Company were expected to recognise him under that name or an earlier form of it. "Tinoterius" is a misreading by the copyist of a latinised form of Civray just south of Poitiers which Borthwick, as standard bearer of the French king, Francis I, had acquired by 1531: Civray appears as "Cineray" in Scottish documents. Borthwick had lingered on in England after King Edward's death, and even received wages for services from Mary Tudor in June 1554 before leaving for the continent some months later than Knox.

Unquestionably, then, he is the anonymous Scot who appeared in Geneva on 21 September of that same year. The sceptical pastors were confronted by him, declaring that the Lord had granted him a revelation which meant he was called to proceed personally to all evangelical churches and princes to bring about, in Bodius' phrase, "peace and union", whereby to pacify all discord. The pastors thought Borthwick's bible texts little to the point, and , though his ears must have been burning from their rejection, he persisted in his sense of vocation. Borthwick returned subsequently to Geneva, and, having won acceptance in its English congregation, married there a Breton lady, Jeanne Bonespoir. This seems to have been a second marriage as a John Borthwick, junior, is on the muster lists of Scots guards alongside the elder Borthwick.

His international projects now over, Borthwick senior settled down once more at the French court and by August 1558, he emerged in Calvin's correspondence with the young earl of Arran. Calvin complimented Arran on having the "capitaine Bourdich" with him whose zeal to advance God's kingdom ought

to be matched by Arran's own zeal for God's service. On his final homecoming, late in 1559, Elizabeth provided the aged captain with English troops to hold the Scottish Protestants' southern flank. But his fighting days were over and he retired soon to St Andrews where he died early in 1565.²⁰ One may hazard that this was not before recounting his experiences and sharing his views on a Protestant alliance with the future Sir John Skene resident in that university in that year. This is not the place to expand on the scheme of 1590 by James VI, the "Pacific King", for reconciling all Protestant princes "in a sure Counter-League" for which Skene travelled widely over northern Europe.²¹

Probably more important for contemporary life in Scotland than the actions abroad of its exiles was the publication of accounts of leading Protestants like Wishart and Borthwick in books printed in England and likely to circulate in the country's interior. After the taking of the castle of St Andrews in 1546, the conspirators were able to seize valuable documentation and eventually put it into the hands of English printers. Thus Edward Hall, the English chronicler, was able to print almost immediately the accusations and sentence of the Church authorities against Borthwick, who left the castle in 1547. The details are said to be "drawn out of the Regester made against heretikes", a register now missing. It is Hall's account that both Bale and Foxe used. The former incidentally mistranslated the

²⁰ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 132-4, 152-3; *Calendar of State Papers Foreign Elizabeth*, ii, 234, 467-8; S. Haynes, *State Papers of William Cecil, Lord Burghley* (1740), i, 129; T.L. Christensen, "John Borthwick og hans Plan om et samlet protestantisk Nordeuropa", *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (1976), 44-66; *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, ed. R. Peters (Louvain, 1972), 97-100; CR, xlili, 370-1; *Catalogue des Actes de François I* (Paris, 1891-3), vii, no. 26749; *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs à Genève*, ed. R. Kingdon *et al.* (Geneva, 1962), ii, 57; *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. J.R. Dasent, v, 48; CR, xlv, 278; *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, ii, 243; *Calendar of State Papers Scotland*, ii, no. 153.

²¹ *Early Records*, 264; *Acta Facultatis Artium Sanctandree*, ed. A.I. Dunlop (SHS, 1964), ii, 423-4.

fifth accusation to make Borthwick say “that the new liturgy of the English is praiseworthy and as such to be upheld by Christians”, an interpretation which has been mistakenly credited to Spottiswoode. Foxe added some comments by Borthwick, but these reflect the views of a man whose opinions had developed substantially in the next dozen years.²²

Noteworthy as an Orcadian turning to Reformation doctrine is James Skea. Though recorded as a chaplain in Orkney in 1523, his Reformed beliefs did not mature rapidly. It was not till May 1546 that George, earl of Caithness, was ordered by the Lords of Council to arrest him, then alleged to be within the earl's jurisdiction. The earl had not known of Skea's arrival within his bounds, but believed he was in hiding. Perhaps he had already decamped for Edinburgh and by Christmas was across the border in England. There he had to seek charity from Protector Somerset, claiming he had fled for “feare of bumyng” for the Word of God. What he does not say is that he had abjured after due trial. His services in England were rewarded by the English treasurer in 1547 and 1549. However, he soon set out for Denmark and in November next year he helped Christian III play the Orkney card with the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine. Skea, wrote the Danish king in November 1559, was devoted to Denmark and therefore he proposed that his religious views might be overlooked. But the Scots Queen was not so accommodating. Skea could have a twenty year respite if he came back home but only in virtue of his recantation, in view of his previous tenacity and pertinacity in holding religious opinions “contrare the tenor of acts of parliament”. Not surprisingly, we hear no more of him.²³

²² Bale (1559), 225; E.Halle, *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (London, 1548), fo. ccxiv verso.

²³ *Orkney and Shetland Records* (Viking Society, 1907-13), i, 104; *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, 549; CSPSc, i, 102; Dasent, ii, 114, 282; *46th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records* (London, 1886), Appendix 2, no. 1, 63; *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, iv, 916.

Before forsaking Denmark and Germany, it might be useful to avoid misunderstandings by drawing attention to the risks, when the Church was in crisis of sending friars abroad. Dominicans from Scotland generally studied at Cologne or Paris. Of graduates in theology approved by the Dominican General Chapter of 1525, one, James Crichton, was a master in theology, the rest bachelors, including three future Reformers (John Macalpine, John McDowell, James Hewatt). It is often forgotten that Macalpine's studies at Cologne preceded 1540 by at least fifteen years and some colleagues may also have been in Germany. Under 1539 Foxe, the martyrologist, lists one "Dodde", without Christian name, among a group of heretics held in Calais, the French town held at that date by the English. However, inspection of the text shows that 1544, not 1539, is the correct date, for in his narration of events of that year, Foxe added that, "There was another certain scholar, counted to be a Scotchman, named Todd" (Foxe thus gives two forms of the name) who was not so fortunate as to escape burning. But this Scot had come to Calais not from Scotland but from Germany and on arrest was carrying suspect German books which provoked his interrogation. During his trial before King Henry's judges he stood his ground manfully but could not manage to escape death by fire.²⁴

Thomas Gilyem was a close associate of the better-known Friar Alexander Seton, for as "Gilzame" he was subprior in January 1529/30 of the St Andrews Dominicans. He came from Athelstaneford and Knox, whose mind first turned to Reformed ideas under his influence, could have met him in East Lothian, but more probably when Knox was a young man in St Andrews. A bachelor in theology, Knox praised his solid judgement, reasonable learning "for the time", quick wit and wholesome doctrine, though his preaching lacked the vehemence Knox admired in Rough. With Rough, he helped to raise the hopes of sympathisers when in spring 1543 he was plucked out of his

²⁴ J.Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (London, 1870-8), v., 498, 523.

religious house to be preacher to Governor Arran and promote the cause of the vernacular bible. Arran ordered riding habits for Gilyem and Friar Alexander Lindsay, who was an early contributor to Scotland's maritime geography. Removed from their function after the homecoming from France of the Governor's kinsman, the future Archbishop Hamilton, Gilyem fled south to England where in January 1544 Cranmer granted him a preaching licence. Calderwood's claim that he went to Bristol is a claim only verifiable now. In May 1549 he became an English denizen, and in 1550 when we find him with a fellow Scot in the will of Roger Wigmore which requested Gilyem to preach ten sermons, he was to do so in the parish church of St Mary-le-Port in Bristol. Two years later he became beneficiary of another will calling on his services for a dozen sermons in St Werburgh's church in the same town.²⁵

During the reign of Edward VI a list of preachers was drawn up, preachers licensed by Church authority since July 1547. Five of these are notified as Scots: John Bythe, M.A., a name once associated with Aberdeenshire, otherwise untraced; John Rough ("Ruthe"), no degree; Thomas Gilyem ("Gilhame"), B.D.; John Knox, no degree; John MacBrair, M.A. Some listed, but not noted as being Scots are: William Learmonth, "Chaplayne to the Lady Anne of Cleve", the foreign bride whom Henry VIII briefly wed; Alexander Logan, M.A., seemingly the Glasgow university regent of that name; John Willock, M.A.; and Henry Hamilton, no degree, rector since 1547 of Stansfield in west Suffolk. However, when deprived as a married clergyman in 1555, Hamilton proceeded to Marburg, where he enrolled as an Englishman from York diocese with other English Marian

²⁵ National Register of Archives Scotland, 0004, Anstruther of Balcaskie Writs: *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xv, 192; Dickinson's *Knox*, i, 42, 48; Calderwood, *History*, i, 155-6; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, viii, 170, 193; *Patent Rolls Edward VI*, ii, 243; *Faculty Office Registers*, ed. D.S. Chambers (Oxford, 1966), 32; M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy* (Oxford, 1993), 171; Sanderson, *Cardinal*, 276.

exiles.²⁶ A Scots friar in London in Edward's time has been identified with Willock. He was an associate of John Lascelles, a future Protestant martyr, and other English dissidents in rallying round a preacher at Paul's Cross who had assailed Catholic doctrine on the eucharist and prayers for the dead. After his interrogation on 17 May 1546, the English Privy Council summed him up as a Scot more fitted for Dunbar than metropolitan London, "having neither wit nor learning for a preacher, but is a very ignorant". Under questioning he proved suspiciously suggestible, a picture that scarcely fits Willock and thus the friar remains unidentifiable.²⁷

The identity of William Learmonth, who attacked the First Book of Common Prayer, offers no problem. A native of Selkirk, but a young Dominican friar of Dundee in November 1531, he must have been in England in 1539. It was not till 1547 or later that he became a licensed preacher, though he was obviously preaching earlier. He appears to be the same as William the Scot whose preaching career was said to go back to King Edward's days and was chaplain subsequently to the dowager duchess of Suffolk, forced into religious exile in Mary Tudor's time along with John Pullen. Pullen, an Englishman, was deprived by Queen Mary of his rectory of St Peter's, Cornhill, in London. Both were much at Colchester in Essex, at the King's Head Inn. When reported, he did not leave, as Pullen did, for Geneva, and in consequence was imprisoned in 1557. A certain Thorn who may be Robert Thorn, parson of Burgh Castle in east Suffolk, told a story of the miraculous manner of Learmonth's escape, an incredible tale which Foxe related but would not underwrite personally. Hearing three mystery calls for him to rise up Learmonth saw part of his prison wall collapse and, just as his

²⁶ Knox, *Works*, vi, p. xxvi. For Logan, cf. J.Durkan and J.Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977), 210, 411, 416-17. For Hamilton, cf. *Catalogus Studiosorum Scholae Marburgensis*, ed. J.Caesar (Marburg, 1875-87), part ii, 27; G.Baskerville, "Married clergy and pensioned religious in Norwich diocese, 1555", *EHR*, xlviii, 63.

²⁷ Foxe, v, 551; Dasent, i, 418; LP, xxi (i), 823.

gaoler came on the scene, Learmonth, seizing his chance, leapt a ditch and exchanged coats with a passing beggar before reaching the shore to board a vessel bound for overseas just as a search party vainly swept the whole county roundabout in a vain attempt to track him down. However, Learmonth is not found in Colchester initially but in Warting, Sussex, where he was "parish priest" in 1541. Though replaced there within a year, yet when charged in 1550 for "seditious" preaching, two Sussex laymen were prepared to stand security for him.²⁸

In London itself Scots were among the leading evangelical preachers before Mary's accession, one thinks of Alexander Seton, John Willock, Robert Richardson and John MacDowell. Their sermons at the newly overhauled funeral liturgies were directed particularly at breaking down older attitudes to Christian death. Robert Richardson by no means a young man, having been born in 1491, as a bachelor of theology was granted leave to hold up to two benefices on condition that he forfeited his rectory of Stoke in what was then the disturbed diocese of Lincoln, no doubt to safeguard his status as royal chaplain. Among the London merchants in Edward's reign, he specialised in funeral addresses and when due to preach a recantation sermon in Mary Tudor's time he seems to have disappointed the expectations of the Marian authorities. He survived the Scottish Reformation by thirteen years, remaining in St Matthew's Friday Street, London.²⁹ The career of Galloway heretic, the friar, John MacDowell can now be filled in somewhat. He was still a Dominican when, soon after his flight from Scotland, he preached an orthodox sermon at the London Blackfriars, and

²⁸ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 146, 147; NLS Adv.MS 34.3.25, Macfarlane's Collections, 11-12; Foxe, viii, 384, 739. For Pullen, C.H.Garrett, *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge, 1938), 262; Thorn, *EHR*, xlviii, 59; *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, ed. R.G.Rice (Sussex Record Society, 1938), iv, 309; Dasent, ii, 379-81.

²⁹ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 134-7, 148-9; *Faculty Office Registers*, 264; *Aliens in England* (Huguenot Society Publications), ii, 11; *Calendar of Institutions by the Chapter of Canterbury "sede vacante"*, edd. C.E.Woodruff and I.J.Churchill (Kent Records, 1923), 76.

again on 1 March 1536 when Cranmer allowed him to hold any non-resident benefice provided he cast off his friar's habit. Henry VIII's policy change forced exile on him again, but by 1549 he was back, preacher in London at St Mary, Staining, though making preaching forays into the countryside too. In December 1551 arrangements were made in a Sussex will for "Mr Thomas Ros and Mr John Madewell" to take the pulpit in Pett parish church if within twelve months they were to visit those parts. Along with John Rogers of Matthews bible fame, and two other Henrician exiles who had taken foreign wives abroad, their children were granted English nationality following on a petition to parliament of March 1552. MacDowell became a popular London preacher, considered seditious by the aldermen in July 1549 following the imposition of King Edward's Prayer Book in June and the fall of Protector Somerset, while the advent in 1553 of Mary Tudor forced him into exile evidently with the Emden group. Knox tells us that abroad he took up secular employment as burgermeister in the "Steads".³⁰

Robert Johnson, composer of religious music, fled to England long before his death around 1560. Johnson, born in Duns about 1500, composed music for Latin texts, some of which could have been composed in Scotland. For part of his English stay, he apparently was stationed near York, though later he became petty canon of Windsor. Said to have fled south for heresy, his church music to English texts belongs to the last twenty years of his life.³¹ Patrick Freebairn was not one of the most Reformed clerics who fled Scotland. On 17 January 1549 when made an English denizen, he lived in the London parish of St Margaret's, Lothbury. Nothing is heard of him till September 1555 when, ensconced as curate of Ebony in Kent, he was

³⁰ Durkan, "Evangelicals", 139-40, 151; *Faculty Office Registers*, 46; J.L.Chester, *John Rogers* (London, 1861), 441; *Aliens in London* (Huguenot Society Publications), i, 172; S.Brigden, *London at the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), 49, 55; *Sussex Wills* (Sussex Record Society, 1938), 290-1.

³¹ K.Elliott in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), ix, 680-1.

remarkable for nothing during its Catholic visitation except the sporting of a beard. Soon replaced, however, he re-emerged in July 1560 when Queen Elizabeth as patron presented him to the rectory of Lothbury. A subsequent Reformed visitation found Freebairn guilty of "unmentionable vices". He had contact with visiting Scots like Willock, though visits as a sick man to Chatelherault's London lodging in December 1568 roused the suspicions of London's lord mayor. Yet he remained parson of St Margaret's till his death next year.³²

There are three John Melvilles whose careers are not easy to disentangle. Obviously the John Melville, bachelor of theology, in Paris since 1573 for failure to adhere to Calvinism, will not concern us here.³³ In 1559 when Mr John "Melvyn", a gentleman of Scotland then at the court of France, approached the English ambassador in Paris, he informed him that his father lost his head and had his lands confiscated. Clearly he is a Melville of Raith, whose father suffered as he said. It is tempting to equate him with a John Melville who came to London in 1542 as reported by his wife, Katherine in 1567. But it was not till August 1548 that this natural son of the laird of Raith was despatched to the English naval captain holding Inchkeith and thence forwarded to the English commander at Broughty Craig, as his father, Sir John, was expected to rally many in Fife to the English cause. Presumably he is the Mr Melvyn in Parliament House reporting on the claims made on behalf of the heir of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the kingdom of England and Ireland and identical with the person presented in July 1567 by Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, to be curate of the churches

³² *Patent Rolls of Edward VI*, i, 354; *Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1557*, ed. L.E.Whatmore (Catholic Record Society, 1950), i, 8 (this 1555 entry is not indexed); *Patent Rolls Elizabeth*, ii, 85; G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1896), facing 128, with p. 279; *State Papers Domestic Additional 1566-79*, 11-13; *State Papers Elizabeth Domestic 1547-80*, 283; *CSPSc*, ii, 579.

³³ *Calendar of State Papers, Rome (1572-78)*, ed. M.Rigg (London, 1926), ii, 227, 230.

of Nonnington and Womerswold in Kent.³⁴ The third Melville is heard of as a seditious preacher seemingly identical with the man earlier presented by Edward VI to the vicarage of Rothley in Lincolnshire, a benefice in the patronage of the Suffolk family, hence sermons on behalf of the Suffolk claims against Mary Tudor. In July 1553 the Spanish envoys in London reported to the Emperor that "several preachers, certain Scotsmen in particular, have preached scandalous things of late to rouse up the people". Before his generous pardon along with other confederates in the rebellion led by Northumberland, Melville was in custody in London at Newgate prison after his capture at Hastings in Sussex, where in November 1552 he is described as preacher and minister at St Clement's church. Articles regarding "election" were absent from the First Swiss Confession as rendered by Wishart, but given a central mention in the Scots Confession of 1560. In a letter from Newgate to his flock, Melville broached the theme of an elect conscious of their elect status and so apart from "the malignant Antichrist's church" in Rome. Already Knox in his English preaching had adverted to this doctrine, Calvin now having echoes among Scots religious exiles. Melville's flight abroad is unrecorded. We hear of a person of his name out of employment in 1559, despite being "very zealous in religion". No doubt he resettled in Hastings where a widow, presumably his surviving wife, Anne Melville, died in 1596.³⁵

³⁴ *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine*, ed. A.I. Cameron (SHS, 1927), 265, 275; CSPSc, i, 230, 151-2; *State Papers Elizabeth Foreign*, i, 930, 998-9, 1312 (the last item may refer to the John Melville of the next entry); *State Papers Domestic 1547-80*, 283; *Registrum Matthei Parker diocesis Cantuariensis ad 1559-1595*, edd. E.M.Thompson and W.H.Frere (Canterbury and York Society, 1928-33), ii, 832.

³⁵ *Dasent*, iv, 330, 429; *Patent Rolls Edward VI*, iii., 359; *Calendar of State Papers relating to Spain 1533*, ed. R.Tyler (London, 1916), xi, 120; *Calendar Patent Rolls Philip and Mary* (London, 1937), i., 442; *Sussex Wills* (Sussex Record Society, 1937), ii, 290; *Foxe*, vi, 393; viii, 719-21; *Calendar of Wills of the Archdeaconry of Lewes* (Index Library, 1901), 131.

John Rough is better known. Born about 1507, possibly of an Edinburgh family, he matriculated at St Leonard's College in 1524, took no degree and soon thereafter, in protest against his disinheritance by his kinsfolk, professed himself as a Dominican at Stirling, in which house he claimed to have stayed for sixteen years, though it was perhaps only his noviciate house. During that time he visited Rome twice, probably for General Chapters, such as took place in 1530, 1532, 1539 and 1542. He found that city, as did many contemporary Catholics, no very edifying place. In 1530 he was a member of the Edinburgh priory when he visited Linlithgow, as also in 1542. By pressure from Governor Arran on Cardinal Beaton, John Grierson, the Dominican provincial, was persuaded to agree to Rough becoming a secular priest. He claimed to have been four years in Ayr and was still a friar when an Ayr Franciscan who attacked his views was confined by the civic powers in the town tolbooth, an action that roused the ire of the master of Montgomery who attempted the Franciscan's rescue. That was in 1543, the year in which parliament authorised the reading of the scriptures in the vernacular. After the Governor disowned him Henry VIII made him a maintenance grant. He made for St Andrews on the murder of the cardinal, where the castle people pleaded with him to minister to them, though, when the French forces arrived to retake the castle, Rough was absent in the countryside. Rough it was who encouraged Knox to take up the ministry.

Meantime his preaching in St Andrews was being thwarted by the subprior, John Winram, and by the "rotten papist", John Annand, canon regular. After the Scots defeat at Pinkie, feeling his life in danger, he fled and by September 1547 was in Carlisle where the earl of Lennox was persuaded to write to Somerset on his behalf, an approach later backed by Alexander Whitelaw of Newgrange. Despatched as preacher in Carlisle, Berwick and Newcastle, he took a Scots wife. Archbishop Holgate of York granted him a benefice at Hull which he held till the coming of Mary Tudor necessitated his departure into exile at Norden, near Emden, in Friesland. To maintain himself there, he sold knitted

goods, as Norden already had a pastor, appointed in 1554, Martin Micron, disciple of Jan Laski. Leaving mainland Europe in October 1557 and reaching London with his wife next month, he joined the underground Protestant congregation meeting in secret rendezvous to hold their service under cover of performing a play at the Saracen's Head, Islington, Rough's presence was reported to the Marian authorities who despatched him on 15 December, three days later, to be cross-examined by the bishop, Edmund Bonner. Little new emerged in the accusations. Rough maintained two rather than seven sacraments, denied transubstantiation and called for confession only to those one had personally offended. Repelling the revived Latin mass of Queen Mary, he defended his use of the Second Prayer Book and the learning and godliness of its compilers. There has been speculation as to whether Rough was a Puritan separatist or a Calvinist. But he clearly represents an older generation, the Strangers' Church of King Edward's time, the church organisation of Emden rather than that of Geneva, hence the power of excommunication and the presence of deacons responsible for almsgiving. Knox represents him as a vehement preacher against Rome, but also as a simple man. First degraded from his priesthood, he was then delivered over to the fires at Smithfield on 22 December 1557.³⁶

Leaving much unsaid about Scotland and England, the neglected territory of Ireland calls for attention. Walter Spalding of Dundee, a poor student, graduated from St Leonard's College in 1531. As rector of the town's grammar school, Dundee created him burgess on 1 November 1539. He could have known Wishart there, and in 1543 he was one of those cited to underlie the law for taking part in the spoliation of the Dominican priory, an indication of his religious orientation. As "Spalatinus

³⁶ Early Records, 220; Foxe, viii, 443-6; *Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun*, edd. J.Beveridge and J.Russell (Scottish Record Society, 1920), no.17; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, iii, 2695; Dickinson's Knox, i, 42-3, 81, 83, 87; *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624*, ed.G.Pryde (SHS, 1937), 90; CSPSc, i, 48; iii, 233; Sanderson, *Cardinal*, 281.

Scotus", he enrolled himself at Wittenberg next year along with another town schoolmaster, John Fethy. Academic posts were in short supply and as late as April 1547, Melanchthon was writing to Fethy then in Berlin, "God will give you some little nest, either in a university in which you seek a post, or elsewhere; if therefore you get nothing in Mark (Brandenburg), you must consider either Denmark or Prussia". At Wittenberg Spalding made friends with the Spaniard, Dryander, that is, Francisco de Enzinas, while Melanchthon wrote to England, to Archbishop Cranmer, in Spalding's favour. On arrival in England, Spalding wrote to Melanchthon of Cranmer's warm reception of him, and subsequently from Ireland sent another letter which Melanchthon duly forwarded to Allan in Leipzig.

Spalding's stay in Ireland proved to be short but eventful, as he was a key actor at a turning point in its religious history. There is little doubt that he was on a mission from Cranmer to advance the state of Protestantism there, and not simply as an instrument of the Lord Deputy, Sir Edward Bellingham. The Henrician archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, was considered too cautious a Reformer, and in August 1548 Spalding denounced this hesitancy, creating a civil disturbance by inveighing in Christ Church cathedral and Kilmainham priory against the mass and Catholic ceremonies with an appeal to the State's authority in the religious field. Browne responded by turning the accusations against Spalding as one who damned good works and engaged in treasonable actions, for Spalding had attacked Browne on many personal accounts as well.

The outcome was that the reluctant Browne was compelled next year to bring in the Book of Common Prayer and along with his suffragans take steps to remove stone altars in the area. On 20 November 1548 Spalding ("Spalatyne") appealed to Bellingham to help the promotion to office under the bishop of Ferns of a certain Mr Stephen, that is Stephen Hay, possibly a Scot too, who thus acquired, in spite of obstructive tactics by the dean and chapter, the prebend of Tombe. The bishop of Meath, Edward Staples has likewise drawn some obloquy on himself for

his support of Spalding; there is a letter to Bellingham in December of the same year, which Staples closes with a "thousand thousand greetings to Mr Walter". Mercifully for the peace of Dubliners Spalding did not last long, for John ab Ulmis who had met him in England, seemingly in Oxford in Willock's company, recorded the Scotsman's death before the end of 1551.³⁷

William Leech was attached to the earl of Lennox in July 1544 when on Lennox's recommendation he was granted leave to pass to and fro over the English border on his pledge to do all in his power to capture the French and take their shipping. In November Leech repaid the town of Chester for its loan towards the costs of Lennox's naval expedition to Ireland. Swearing allegiance to the English king, Leech was granted an annuity and as captain of Lennox's ship obtained in January 1546 an export licence. With King Henry's blessing he sent servants into Scotland to get out his wife, children and property. Thenceforward Leech vanishes from view till found at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1552. His sailing days seemed over. On Queen Mary's accession he took refuge abroad. He was in Germany in Speyer in 1557 when visited by Edmund Grindal and, though in high esteem with German friends, chose to return at once on the death of England's Catholic queen. Despite past services, Cecil at first was suspicious of Captain Leech, but he explained that he was anxious to take up with Lennox once more, as he had sold up in Germany, his wife having died and left one child behind her. He became an English denizen on 3 November 1561, though still obliged to pay customs as an alien.

³⁷ Early Records, 127, 226; A.H.Millar, *Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee 1523-86* (Dundee, 1887), 22; RSS, iv, 2580; Album, i, 213; CR, vi, 760, 780-1; vii, 189; *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1508-73*, ed.H.C.Hamilton (London, 1860), 86, 93-4; E.P.Shirley, *Original Letters and Papers* (London, 1851), 18-25; Public Record Office, London SP61/65/001241/243; B.Bradshaw, "George Browne, first Reformation archbishop of Dublin, 1536-1554", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxi (1970), 301-326, esp. 318-19. For Hay, see J.B.Leslie, *Ferns Clergy and Parishes* (Dublin, 1936), 95, 146, 249.

Somehow he reached Ireland. Craik, bishop of Kildare, at this point declaring Leech his very dear friend, employed him in errands to Cecil. But next year Leech had blotted his copybook, having quarrelled with another protégé of Craik's, John Douglas. Douglas assailed Leech for being critical of Queen Elizabeth (he may have had Marian inclinations), and furthermore of slanders on Craik's person. With the help of Grindal whose support Leech had to seek, Leech's name was soon cleared; he had always longed for Elizabeth's accession. In 1565, Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, wrote to Cecil on Leech's behalf and next year Adam Loftus, archbishop of Armagh, commended him to both Cecil and the earl of Leicester, by which date Leech was in attendance on the Irish Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. Loftus renewed his plea on his behalf as he was a godly man living on a mere pension who deserved better. The outcome was the grant of the prebend of Tipper in St Patrick's, Dublin, to the former sea-captain. Later in the same year, 1567, he got the vicarage of Dumsoghlin and Donochmaste, Meath diocese. Leech died five years later.³⁸

Not a great deal is known about Alexander Craik, the Scot who became bishop in Reformed Ireland. His home might have been in Orkney of which an elder namesake had been diocesan official. Craik is described as a bachelor of laws presumably of St Andrews, where a person of his name graduated in arts 1523. With dispensation from the usual dues, Craik became an English denizen in 1551, his first appearance in English record, and this before admission on royal presentation to the parsonage of Caistor, Lincolnshire. Evidently he had acquired a powerful patron. This was the earl of Northumberland who was finding John Knox a less malleable candidate for promotion. Next year

³⁸ *LP*, xix (1), 105; xx (1), 125, 165, 181; xx (2), 878; xxi (1), 643, 1382; *Remains of Edmund Grindal* (Parker Society, 1843), 275; J. and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part 1 (Cambridge, 1922-4), iii, 68; *Calendar State Papers Foreign Elizabeth*, i, 277-9; *Calendar Patent Rolls Elizabeth*, ii, 101; Shirley, 183, 184, 186, 261; H.Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1848), ii, 189.

in December Northumberland sought, with the help of Cecil, another royal presentation for Craik to the vicarage of Kidderminster, Worcester diocese, and by April 1553 he appeared as such in Bishop Heath's register, though meantime there was some trouble over Caistor with a local proprietor. Mary Tudor's accession and the disasters befalling Northumberland for resisting her claim to the throne forced Craik underground for he lost both benefices. Yet, since he not only knew Robert Dudley, future earl of Leicester, but also other members of the Dudley family, he may have continued life as chaplain in that household. Powerful patronage again followed him in Elizabeth's reign. He had scarcely time to hold the prebend of Clonmetheran in St Patrick's, Dublin, when in May 1560, Elizabeth made him its dean. When nominated bishop of Kildare, an impoverished see whose lands he was charged with further alienating, he is described as bachelor of theology.

Unlike John Carswell in Scotland Craik did not have the Gaelic and longed to return to England and his Dudley friends. The unfriendliness of his Irish environment affected his health especially after his imprisonment in 1563 for non-payment of his first fruits. He had hopes for a transfer to Meath diocese, failing any good prospects out of Ireland. Sickness and lack of preacher helpers undermined any hoped-for role in the Protestantisation of the Irish countryside, though at his death in 1564 he was given honourable burial in St Patrick's.³⁹

An old acquaintance of Craik, David Padie, seems to have been a Fifer. He went to St Andrews in 1541 and later to Lutheran Greifswald in 1546 in the company of Richard Melville, and there he may have acquired his master's degree.

³⁹ D.E.R.Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi* (SRS, 1969), 264; *Patent Rolls Edward VI*, iv, 1, 165; *Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St Mary of Lincoln* (Horncastle, 1920), 70, 174, 182; there was competition for the Caistor prebend, *Dasent*, iii, 498; T.Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcester*, ii, 156; *State Papers Domestic 1547-80*, 48; H.J.Lawlor, *The Fasti of St Patrick's Dublin* (Dundalk, 1930), 20, 45, 101; Shirley, 170, 180, 184-7, 199, 208, 211, 217, 220; *Calendar Patent Rolls Edward VI*, iii, 252.

On 28 December 1559 he obtained through Queen Elizabeth the prebend of Sneating in St Paul's, London. Next year, on October 9, Padie had royal presentation once more, now to the rectory of Compton Abbas (Wester Compton) in Dorset. Early in 1562 Padie was desired to come to sickly Craik's assistance as preacher in St Patrick's but, as Craik complained to Cecil, the bishop of Winchester threatened Padie's hold on his Dorset benefice if he failed to be resident there. However, Padie went on to hold the sixth prebendal canonry in Winchester cathedral from 23 June 1563. With this plurality of livings, ministry in Scotland might seem less attractive and he chose to become a naturalised Englishman in April 1567. He was dead by April ten years later, continuing to hold both cathedral prebends.⁴⁰

The name John Douglas creates problems of identification. There are at least two religious exiles of that name. One is the Carmelite about whose Reformed presence in the household of the earl of Argyll Archbishop Hamilton complained when Douglas used the alias of Grant. He was already preaching in Leith with Paul Methven before 31 March 1558. He was denounced in the Provincial Council of clergy held in 1559. During the religious civil war he was present at the siege of Leith where, on the testimony of John Hamilton, Protestant commendatory abbot of Arbroath, he was maimed. Hence his entry into the Reformed ministry was now impractical. At this point Argyll was still on good terms with the English authorities and collaborating with them in Ireland. At the Treaty of Berwick of February 1560, a clause was inserted authorising Argyll to reduce Northern Ireland to perfect obedience to the English, a duty the earl was far from reluctant to accept.

The quarrel of Douglas with Leech shows his presence in Dublin in 1562. In November 1565 Loftus, archbishop of

⁴⁰ *Early Records*, 246; *Matrikel Greifswald*, 214; J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester dioceses* (London, 1974), iii, 97; Le Neve, *Fasti: St Paul's London* (London, 1969), i, 214; *Registrum M.Parker*, i., 210; *Calendar State Papers Ireland 1509-73, 187; Calendar Patent Rolls Elizabeth*, iv, 243; Shirley, 111-12, 122-3.

Armagh, whom Knox had commended to Argyll, heard from Argyll: Douglas was then attendant on Loftus. Next year in June Douglas had transferred to the service of the Irish Deputy, Sidney, who was alarmed when, on an errand to Argyll in Edinburgh, Douglas, "an Englishe Scott", found the Scots earl at Queen Mary's court in the company of an Irishman from the territory of the powerful and rebellious Shane O'Neill. It was embarrassing as Douglas's errand was for weaponry. Cecil, who saw Douglas on his way from Scotland, described him as Sidney's "minister". He became increasingly out of sympathy with Argyll's independent stance on Irish affairs.

Through Douglas, Sidney communicated with the earl of Moray who did not see eye to eye with Argyll about Ireland. Argyll and Douglas appeared to be further estranged because of the earl's support of Mary, Queen of Scots. In April 1570 Douglas begged Cecil for some reward for having, he claimed, brought the Scots to Ireland and accomplished the fall of the great O'Neill. The earl of Bedford had encouraged him to believe that some English employment would be found for him. In the autumn of 1571 he wrote from Dublin in alarm about possible escape plans of the Scots queen now in an English prison and a possible link between her and the duke of Norfolk. Queen Elizabeth had granted him a small daily pension in April or May 1570. Dead by November 1584 when the Irish Deputy wrote to Walsingham that Douglas's brother, Alexander, had turned up to claim a mill on the Liffey near Dublin, allegedly bequeathed by Douglas to his wife and his one idiot child. The wound suffered at Leith would exclude him from Church livings in Ireland, and his value to his masters lessened when the link with Argyll was broken.⁴¹

⁴¹ Dickinson's *Knox*, i, 125, 138, 153; ii, 246-57; J. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland* (Spottiswoode Society, 1847-51), i, 186; *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, ed. D. Patrick (SHS, 1907), 186 (name given as Grant); *CSPSc*, ii, 401; J. Dawson, "The Fifth Earl of Argyll, Gaelic Lordships and Political Power in 16th-century Scotland", *SHR*, lxvii (1988), 1-27; *State Papers Ireland 1509-73*, 211, 282, 385, 430; A. Collins, *Letters*

The other John Douglas was a graduate who was in England from before 1547. In March 1563 he is found preaching in Berwick-on-Tweed, acceptably to the English rulers of that Borders stronghold, who appointed him as the town's public minister, though a Scot. In August of next year, since his benefice was in "abatement", Douglas repaired to southern England and sought Cecil's favour for ecclesiastical promotion. It was then explained that he was a free denizen, who had served in the ministry in different places in England in the days of Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, and her brother, King Edward. It is possible that he is the John Douglas of London who in 1549 was among the accusers of its bishop, Edmund Bonner. He became a free denizen in 1550 and, along with Thomas Gilyem, is mentioned as a beneficiary in the Bristol will of a gentlemen, Roger Wigmore, on condition of his preaching ten sermons wherever the testator's brother would advise. He could have been from 1560 the rector of Stambridge Magna who seems to be one with the vicar of North Weald Basset, appointed 1568. Both livings were vacant in 1570.⁴²

Contacts with Iberian and Italian Protestantism were fewer and less direct. Buchanan had a spell of imprisonment at the hands of the Lisbon Inquisition in 1550, but had no mind to revisit Scotland as yet. A decisive encounter for the untutored Francisco de San Roman, a Spaniard put to death at an "auto da fe" in Valladolid in 1541, was his meeting with "le docteur Macchabee" (Macalpine), resident in Bremen the previous year when San Roman visited it from Antwerp to collect the debts of

and *Memorials of State: Sydney Papers* (1746), 12; *CSPSc*, ii, 669; *Calendar of Cecil MSS.* i., 516-18; *Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland: 12th Report*, Fiants Elizabeth, no. 1671; *CSPSc*, vi, 344, 369, 637; *State Papers Ireland 1574-85*, 538. Douglas died in London, leaving a wife, Margaret Purdoun, in 1577 or 1578; *Dasent*, xiv, 66.

⁴² *Calendar State Papers Foreign Elizabeth*, 1563, nos. 399(1), 1128; *Ibid.*, 1564-5, nos. 626-7; *Patent Rolls Edward VI*, iii, 252; *Foxe*, v, 770; *Skeeters*, 166; *Registrum M.Parker*, i, 297; R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1708-10), ii, 542.

Spanish merchants.⁴³ Macalpine seems to have lodged with Jakob Proost, the Lutheran pastor in the town.

Evidence of Scots Protestants in Italy is also hard to come by, though it includes three notable names, John Craig, Henry Scrimgeour and John Row (the last too late for inclusion here). Scrimgeour has been dealt with quite fully elsewhere. He too, in spite of pressing invitations did not return home.⁴⁴ The main sources for accounts of Craig's early life are: John Spottiswoode, the historian's father, who, as superintendent of Lothian, had ample acquaintance with Craig in Edinburgh after his homecoming, and John Row, agent at the Roman curia, who could have known Craig in Italy and later, more certainly, as a prominent Scots minister, and whose reminiscences were recorded by a son and grandson. In their histories, Spottiswoode's son gives a fuller account than Row's son and grandson, the two latter giving a more edited and Protestant-sounding account of Craig. To go into detail on Craig here would take too much space. But perhaps one incident in Italy can be highlighted.

At some unspecified date before 1553 when Cardinal Pole had to leave Rome for England, Pole recommended him for acceptance by the Dominicans in Bologna, where he was employed in the novices' school into which sons of the nobility were also accepted. Row's story that he was pedagogue to an Italian magnate of Protestant leanings is not found in Spottiswoode. The Dominicans sent him on missions to other Italian houses of theirs, where he would not be unaccompanied, and Spottiswoode notes that he was despatched also to the priory on the Greek island of Chios, extraneous to the Italian provinces of the order, to carry out corrective measures. He must have gone there as commissioner of the Inquisition, for the only such visitation to Chios on record is one by the Dominican inquisitors

⁴³ *Les Memorables de Francisco de Enzinas*, ed. J.de Savignac (Brussels, 1963), 192-3.

⁴⁴ J.Durkan, "Henry Scrimgeour, Renaissance Bookman", *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, v (1971-4), 1978, pt. I, 1-31.

in 1557. Thus it would not be his new post as rector of their novitiate school, but his attachment to Inquisition business that gave him access to prohibited literature (absent from the shelves in San Domenico's library in Bologna) and thus to the copy of Calvin's *Institutes* that effected his conversion from Catholicism.

However, there is an incident to which Knox gave some prominence in which Craig figured. He was present at a general congregation, presumably an academic one of the university of Bologna, held in the Dominican priory. At this two prominent academics including, according to Knox, the rector of the university, Thomas de Finola, though no such name is recorded in the Bologna lists published up to the present, and Master Vincentius do Placentia, disputed the right of the city's papal governors to alter the laws by which the papal territories were regulated without the licence of their subjects. The date appears to be 1554, according to the most reliable manuscript of Knox's history. Knox was patently unaware of the background of Vincentius de Placentia. He was Friar Vincentius Villa who was professed a Dominican in 1499, held various offices both in the priory of San Domenico and in the university, and even attended some sessions of the Council of Trent. He was dean of the theological faculty in the university in 1550 and earlier, and also is at various dates listed as inquisitor for Piacenza, Cremona and Crema. Imprudent remarks by Craig led to his own imprisonment by the Roman inquisition from which in 1559 he was only freed by Roman rebels seizing the Inquisition's buildings and releasing the occupants in the disturbed final days of the unpopular Pope Paul IV, thus anticipating by a full twelve hours the traditional amnesty on vacancy of the see. Craig had spent nine months in this prison from the winter of 1558, that is in the Palazzo di Ripetta on the Ripetta quay (near the present-day Ponte di Cavour) beside the River Tiber which, according to Row's narrative, often flooded the inquisitorial dungeons.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 91-4; J. Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1842), 415-17, 457-62; T.A. Ker, "The Early Life of John Craig, Scottish Reformer 1512-1560", *RSCHS*, xvii (1972), 65-79; T.G. Law,

John Baron, or Barron, was the son of an Edinburgh merchant, Andrew Barron. John's son, also called John, was baptised in St Theodor church in Basle in January 1554. He may thus have married in England early in 1553 before being forced into religious exile by the death of Edward VI. Anne Goodacre, his wife, was possibly a kinswoman of Hugh Goodacre, Protestant bishop of Armagh. In Basle he is the sole Scots resident known at that date, perhaps employed as printing press corrector, and would know of Sebastian Castellion who had left Geneva for that city. Castellion's translation of the bible is in the exaggeratedly Ciceronian style favoured by the Lyonnais humanists in France, Castellion having received his initial training in Lyons. Another who employed that style, the Scot, Florence Wilson, was like Castellion linked with the Trinity College in that town. Castellion had fallen foul of Calvin and Beza in Geneva, partly on that point, but also because of the burning of the anti-Trinitarian heretic, Servetus, and his objections to the Genevan stance on predestination.

By coincidence there was a certain John Baron at Lyons in 1555, one of the college regents forced to reside outside its walls because the principal had sold the college furnishings and

Collected Essays and Reviews (Edinburgh, 1904), 277-304; L.von Pastor, *History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924), xiv, 268, 414; V.Alce and P.A.d'Amato, *La Biblioteca di San Domenico in Bologna* (Florence, 1961), passim; C.Piana, "La Facoltà teologica di Bologna nella prima meta del Cinquecento", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, lxii (1969), 196-266; Vicenzo Villa was professed as a Dominican at Bologna in May 1499, was doctor of theology in 1537, regent of studies at San Domenico and dean of the theological college in Bologna University from at least 1540 to 1550, was present at the Council of Trent, 1547-9, Inquisitor for Piacenza, Cremona and Crema from 1542 till 1549 at least. He seems to have been opposed to Henry VIII's divorce, *LP*, iv (3) (London, 1876), nos. 2994, 6644; R.Canosa, *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia: Torino e Genova* (Rome, 1988), 136 (Pastor gives the exact date, 11 November 1557); Dickinson's *Knox*, ii, 131-3; L.Paris, *Negociations relatives au règne de François II* (Paris, 1841), 98, 104. I have to thank Rev. Simon Tugwell, formerly of Oxford, now at the Dominican Institutum Historicum in Rome.

decamped. In Lyons, before August 1557, when the following fact came to the notice of Beza, Castellion's brother had been thrown into prison for attempting to publish or actually publishing (in 1563 Beza implied the latter) an "impious" attack on predestination as Geneva understood it. Calvin's response, in its French form, addresses Castellion, referring to a certain Scot "who makes a point of airing your mad ideas (*deliria* in the Latin) as soon as you have engendered them, (and) wrote it under your eye meaning to carry it off to Paris since he would not have been allowed to publish it where you live" (i.e. in Basle). Buisson thought this might have been Florence Wilson, who, besides knowing Castellion, was patronised by Cardinal Sadolet and had works printed in Basle.

If the predestination manuscript fell into a corrector's hands in Lyons, where Beza says it was printed, it could have been copied and an early copy expedited surreptitiously to Beza. This could have been Baron's role. Certainly he came to settle in Geneva in that very month as a "student" (of theology?), for in the autumn of 1557 his daughter, Susanna, was baptised there, an event witnessed by Christopher Goodman, though she died prematurely next October. If, in Calvin's mind, a Scot had been associated with an assault on his views on predestination, a motive existed for another Scot taking up its defence. Hence Knox's treatise, the orthodoxy of which, however, was under suspicion to begin with, had, after Knox left Geneva for Scotland, still to be seen through the press by Baron, but that only provided the imprint of Geneva did not appear on it. Baron, who had also been associated in some unspecified way with the issue of the English version of the Geneva Bible, readily took on the task. In the tract, Knox frequently selects Castellion for attack but assailed also "pestilent Papists", express enemies of God's "free mercie", such as Sadolet whom he names.

In March 1560 Baron got licence to leave Geneva while retaining his status as burgess achieved in 1558. His wife could then have expected to go home to England, yet having since lived in sizeable towns like Basle and Geneva she might have found

Edinburgh not too uncongenial. There were born to them a second Susanna and another daughter called Marion. Her husband was again involved with a printer, this time with the 1562 Scots version of Beza's reply to the Cardinal of Lorraine at the Colloquy of Poissy. His wife may have hoped that her husband, as the second most notable recruit from Geneva itself, might have been assigned an important city charge comparable with Knox's. But by June 1563 it had been concluded that he should go to the fairly remote parish of Galston in Ayrshire. So during Baron's absence there, rejecting his pleas by letter and the counsel given her by friends of the family, she abruptly deserted his Edinburgh home to make for England, going initially to York. The case involved the General Assembly and Archbishop Parker, but its solution made for difficulties in a national church where an international dimension no longer existed. In 1567 Baron moved south to Whithorn, but the separation from his English wife was apparently permanent. About 1563 Baron acquired a copy, now in the National Library of Scotland, of Beza's response to Castellion's defence of bible translation in the style of Cicero, evidently still a matter engaging Baron's attention.⁴⁶

The next significant Scot in Geneva in the period prior to the Scottish Reformation was, apart from Sir John Borthwick whose stay was short, David Lindsay, son of Robert of Kirkton and brother of the earl of Crawford, later to become minister of Leith

⁴⁶ Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, 81; F.Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion* (Paris, 1892), i., 35; ii, 112; J.Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* (Paris, 1910), viii, 243; *Correspondance de Theodore de Bèze*, ed.H.Aubert, (Geneva 1960-), ii, 84; CR, xxxvii, 274, 284; J.Knox, *Works*, v, 24; CR, xliv, 556, 609; C.Martin, *Les Protestants anglais refugiés à Genève* (Geneva, 1915), 44, 70, 241-2, 334, 336, 338; J.Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, ii, 370; *Acts of the General Assembly*, i, 42; CSPSc, ii, 31, 40; G.Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 56-9; *Responsiones a defensiones et reprehensiones Sebastiani Castellionis quibus suam Noui Testamenti interpretationem defendere adversus Bezam conatus est* (Geneva, 1563), signed at end; R.Dickson and J.P.Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing* (Cambridge, 1890), 212. Baron also owned a course in philosophy by H.Wildenbergius in Aberdeen University Library, and a work of Hilary of Poitiers, now at Traquair.

and bishop of Ross. Lindsay was received into the English church there on 15 September 1558 and on 24 October was registered as a resident. Absent from Scotland during the civil war of 1559/60, he was thus not an extra voice in favour of Genevan practice in those decisive days. He was a young man of 27 on his arrival.⁴⁷

Another incomer was Thomas Drummond, probably originating in the Lennox, certainly belonging to the "Briton" nation at St Andrews on enrolment at St Mary's College in 1551. Graduating in 1554, he was examiner in the arts faculty and procurator of his nation in 1558. He arrived with James Sandilands, son of the laird of Calder, and entered as inhabitant of Geneva on 23 October 1559. Drummond is found as minister of Creich in Fife in 1563, but was dead by 1569. Though the General Assembly authorised him to plant kirks in Menteith, Randolph reported to Cecil in May 1565 that "Mr Thomas Dromonde ... a godlye and lerned young man that preached at Dombleane" was silenced by Queen Mary.⁴⁸

James Lamb, ribbon-maker from Leith, registered on 23 August 1559; the Lamb family of Leith had reforming sympathies. Robert Hamilton, Englishman, arrived in the company of another Englishman, Richard Bodley, and need not be a Scot. A John Hamilton is recorded as a Marian exile by Bale in a 1557 list that includes Knox and Baron, but is not more exactly identified. An important Scottish accession to the company at Geneva was Henry Scrimgeour, bookman and civil lawyer, his nephew, Peter Young, was a youth at school in Lausanne in 1559 whence he went on to the university at Geneva, but his importance in the Scottish Reformation was not immediate.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Notice in *Dictionary of National Biography*; Martin, 260; P.F. Geisendorf, *Livres des habitants de Genève* (Geneva, 1957), i, 139.

⁴⁸ *Early Records*, 151-2, 255; *Acta Fac. Artium*, ii, 404, 412, 442; Geisendorf, i, 212; *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation*, ed. C. Haws (SRS, 1972), 51; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, i, 35; CSPSc, ii, 153.

⁴⁹ Geisendorf, i, 182, 202; Bale (1557), 742; Durkan, "Henry Scrimgeour", 15.

Basle was the international crossroads city of Switzerland and the accounts of town and university throw occasional light on the religious change in Scotland, though the few mentions are disappointingly brief and relatively uninformative. For instance in the session 1554/5 grants are made to an unidentified Scots monk and an anonymous Scots priest, while some poor Scots, again unnamed, got a grant in the previous session. In April, two learned men from Scotland on their way to Bologna called at Basle's university. Among beneficiaries in July 1557 was an aged Scot sent from Leipzig, a Lutheran centre, by Pietro Paolo Vergerio, to whom the university rector, Boniface Amerbach, lent, aside from an initial grant, the sum of two dollars. This beneficiary told Amerbach that he intended to go to the Colloquy at Worms and would repay the loan on his way back since Calvin would provide him with the cash; this aged person, going to Worms via Geneva, could have been John Lyle. Amerbach also made a small payment in October 1554 to another Scot, previously in France as preacher in attendance on Madame de Guise. Claiming he was driven out, he said that on his way he had been seriously injured in Burgundy and robbed of all he had.

In the same year at the end of October, board and lodging was found once more for a Scot, this time returning from the Worms colloquy, a learned old man (Lyne again?) who wished to proceed further, for, though at that point without employment, he was hopeful that Melanchthon might find him a post under the Prince Elector in the Palatinate. An undated entry mentions five shillings of travelling allowance for another Scot claiming to be stripped of all his resources. On 11 August 1560 expenses were allowed to yet another Scot, unfortunately still anonymous, who declared that he preached the gospel years ago in Scotland, in consequence of which he was banished and up to the present had maintained himself in Geneva. Since, however, the gospel had been reintroduced into Scotland, he declared himself willing to return home. The date seems late for John Craig, though he

could have come to Switzerland on his way home from Vienna.⁵⁰ The one Scots name on the university's matriculation roll of 1555/6 was Alexander Cockburn, born in January 1535/6 and dying aged 28 on 1 September 1564. Knox was his master whom he accompanied to St Andrews Castle in 1546, where they studied grammar and "other humane authors", the young Cockburn repeating his catechism in the parish church. Years later in March 1562, he was captured by the earl of Bothwell who proposed taking him prisoner to Crichton Castle but released him "gently enough". It was young Cockburn who was sent to invite Knox with whom he was still familiar to his second interview with Queen Mary.⁵¹

An interesting letter, somewhat cryptic in expression, of Simon Sulzer, bishop of Basle, to Bullinger at Zurich dated 1 May 1555, is worth citing. It declared that Sulzer had requested lodging from the magistrates of Basle and this at the instance of a certain Scot, a minister celebrated in his homeland. However, there were those who might say that the Scot had been urged on by a minority and, while the recipient of Sulzer's favour, was under condemnation by many. Sulzer did not know what "odious controversies" existed among them. The Scot had since left Basle for Geneva. Meantime, it was reported that he had been welcomed by none of his brethren, while, since then, no Englishman had made his appearance (in Basle). The "celebrated minister" surely can be none other than Knox; the place whence he had come surely Frankfurt on Main, where Knox's party was in a minority in a quarrel over the use of the Prayer Book of King Edward. So far no Englishman had reached Basle since Knox's arrival; and, it seems, Knox was now finally on his way to the city of Calvin.⁵²

⁵⁰ M.Sieber, "Die Universität Basel im 16 Jahrhundert und die englischen Besucher", *Basler Zeitschrift*, lv (1986), 95-112.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 110; Knox, *Works*, i, 186 note; Dickinson's *Knox*, i, 69, 82; ii, 39, 43; *RSS*, iv, 1094, 3079.

⁵² Sieber, 90.

Many implications of the fresh information being made available must be postponed till it can be published in full. Catholic casualties in the religious orders are seen principally in those, Augustinians or Dominicans, who followed the rule of St Augustine. Yet the two most prominent ecclesiastical recruits prior to 1546, Wishart and Knox, were secular clerics. The omission meantime from this account of prominent layfolk like Henry Balnavis will be noted, not to say that of leading Lords of the Congregation like the future earl of Moray, Glencairn, Argyll, Keith earl Marischal, the third earl of Arran, great lords who replaced in this period the haemorrhage among the Catholic divines in earlier decades. Some recent endeavours have been made to remedy the gaps in our knowledge of these with studies of Arran and Argyll. Minor gaps that need filling concern the less influential. Sir Thomas Jameson of Cupar preached against the Catholic mass at St Andrews and was seized by various Fife lairds who did not then favour the new doctrines: he survived to become minister of Largo. A priest called John Petre or Patrie, servant to the laird of Innermeath, fled during the cardinal's time with Walter Myln. Other abjurations were extracted from burgesses of Dundee like Gilbert Wedderburn, John Paterson and James Lovell in 1539. There are grounds for thinking that the theology of iconoclasm advanced by Zwingli may have been behind the smashing of the image of Mary Magdalene in the chapel of Leny by Stephen Bell in 1547. There is one poor man mentioned, namely John Robesone. George Winchester, citizen of St Andrews, was convicted of heresy, apparently in 1550 when he refused a summons by Archbishop Hamilton, but he had already been escheated seemingly for the same reason in 1546. One of the first members of Edinburgh's Reformed circle was Richard Anderson, but, though a special friend of Knox, he abandoned the group for France in October, 1559.⁵³

⁵³ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. A.D.G. Mackay (Scottish Text Society, 1899-1911), ii, 138; *Ibid.*, ii, 1332; *Treasurer's Accounts*, vi, 377; *RSS*, ii, 2704, 3016; *TA*, vi, 377; vii, 74; *Ancient Criminal Trials*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Maitland Club, 1833), i (2).

It has always seemed mysterious that nobody attempted to institute a Protestant printing press. Henry Scrimgeour's plan for setting up a press in Bourges came to nothing, though it is likely to have confined itself to law books.⁵⁴ It is surprising that an entry regarding Robert Lepreuik, published in Pitcairn's *Ancient Criminal Trials*, has for so long been overlooked. By specific royal command, and under pain of death, he suffered lifelong banishment on 8 August 1532 for unspecified offences, a decision made under the king's eyes by a court held in Edinburgh's Tolbooth. Surely this is the printer of that name and it seems plain that he had been printing illicit material, presumably religious in nature.

Another such exile was Alexander, bookseller and fellow Scot, bearer of a letter to Germany from Alexander Alesius (Allan) in London on 31 July 1536; also mentioned as Allan's messenger in correspondence from London dated in August 1535 to Paul Eber at Wittenberg. He can be identified as the Edinburgh book merchant, Thomas Alexander, made burgess in 1561 and in 1563 receiver of the printing irons of John Scott when Scott was taken in custody for publishing Catholic books. He may well be brother to Mr Robert Alexander, advocate and Lutheran sympathiser, said to have been schoolmaster to William Hay, earl of Errol. At St Andrews as a student in 1539, Robert is said to have dedicated his testament in Scots metre to Lilias Ruthven, Lady Drummond, in a work no longer extant. Those, like these two, who could print or circulate heretical books must have been very useful to the new movement.⁵⁵

335; an earlier reference to hanging the image of St Francis is to George Lovell in 1536, *TA*, vi, 307; vii, 79; ix, 18; *RSS*, iv, 911; Knox, *Works*, vi, 109-10; to these names can be added, in 1535, James Paterson, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, 446.

⁵⁴ *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, edd. N. Hartmann and B.R. Jenny (Basle, 1991), x, 288.

⁵⁵ Scottish Record Office, Justiciary Court Records, v, 74 verso; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Gild Brethren* (SRS, 1929), ed. C.B. Boog Watson, 27; O.Clemens, *Kleine Schrifte zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1984).

Otherwise it is not easy to disengage any policy or principle of selection in such heresy trials as did take place. The Cockburns of Ormiston were allowed to escape abroad; they left behind their schoolmaster, Adam Wallace, who became an easy victim. Walter Myln's death in 1558, unless it was to discourage religious refugees from coming home from abroad, seemed pointless as he was now a very old man. Indeed old men like Richardson, Fethy and Simpson were not tempted to come back home; and others like MacBrair and Baron had problems about transporting their wives. There was one notable clerical newcomer to the movement, John Craig; otherwise this period was the decade of the Protestant layman.

v, 378; CR, iii, 104; T.Dickson and J.P.Edmond, 156-7; Calderwood, *History*, i, 134.

